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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the change in the growth rate in schools by looking at some of the available data and rearranging it in ways that explain the flattened growth rate. The analysis begins with an overview of the market--past, present, and future. From there, future prospects for the school business are estimated. Declining enrollments, a tight job market for college graduates, the role of schooling in the development of personal and national wealth, cybernation, and changes in techno-structure are seen to have adverse effects on schools. Positive measures such as an increased emphasis on school improvement based on accountability, market development, restricting access, and charging higher prices to those admitted are cited. Preventive steps to improve the position of the schools are urged such as the discouraging of certification services outside the formal school system, of school discount houses, and of movements that propose a de-schooling of society. Broadening the concept of work to include categories presently excluded is seen as a way of returning to schools the function of educating. (Author/AM)

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THE OUTLOOK FOR SCHOOLING:

A SURVEY FOR INVESTORS AND SHAREHOLDERS

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Where have all the young men gone?
Long time passing
Where have all the young men gone?
Long time ago
Where have all the young men gone?
Gone to graveyards every one
When will they ever learn?
When will they ever learn?

Our society has been trying. The young men, and young women, too, have gone to school!

Schools are one of the largest businesses in the United States today. They consume over 7% of the GNP and occupy the time of one-third of the population.[1] They were, until a short time ago, a true growth industry.

The growth seems to have flattened out, and the change in growth rate has caught many administrators and public policy makers by surprise. It has also left a number of investors in the school system–particularly students–holding a high-priced stock without much current value.

Our purpose in writing this paper is to attempt to explain what has happened to the school business. In preparing the paper we were driven by personal concern–what is our future as employee-stockholders[2] in the school business? In order to help make a decision about whether or not to stay on the job, we have looked at some of the usually available data and rearranged it in ways that we feel explain what has been happening in schools. Our analysis commences with the usual overview of the market–past, present, and future. From there, we estimate future prospects for the business.

Although a sizable number of older people are going back to school, the market for schooling is largely among the young. Until six years ago, the young were a growth industry's dream for their numbers were growing dramatically. In 1920, for example, there were only about 19 million people aged 14-24. By 1960 that market had grown to 24 million, and by 1970 to 35 million.[3] The growth was a geometric progression.

The numbers enrolled in schools grew even more rapidly. Scholars, school administrators, and teachers were very busy in the role of advertising agents for the school business. In the late 1950's, and particularly in the 1960's, they began to sell the public on two themes: schools led to better jobs and higher incomes for students who went to school, and a schooled population led to economic development in the nation.

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The first theme led to an increased demand for schooling, so that the industry was able to attract an increasing percentage of young students. In 1920, only 3 million young people were enrolled in secondary of post-secondary schools; by 1960, some 15 million were enrolled; and by 1970, enrollment had reached almost 25 million. In the 1920-1970 period, school enrollment had increased 6-1/3 times, while the number of people aged 14-24 had not even doubled.

Since schools are not really profit-making organizations, the second prong of the advertising campaign—economic development—was very important. Without this idea, it would have been hard to convince politicians that people who did not directly benefit from schooling (the retired, drop-outs, and the like) should be *compelled* to spend part of their limited income supporting schools. But lo! With the idea that schools led to economic development (and hence to pension increases) the advertising department scored a significant breakthrough in raising investor confidence.[4] On the basis of that campaign, educators managed to convince the public to increase their support of schools from about 3.4% of the GNP in 1950 (about $8.8 billion) to 7.5% in 1971 (about $78.2 billion).

While very effective, the advertising campaign was waged with rough data. As arguments in favor of expansion or investment were points such as:

(1) Rates of return on investment in education, however measured, compare favorably with rates of return from other types of investment.
(2) There are relationships between economic growth and increases in national expenditures for education or in school enrollments.
(3) As economies develop, new occupations come into being which require more skill and education.
(4) The more education people have, the more they are likely to earn over their lifetime.
(5) If relative earnings reflect a free interplay of market forces (an "iffy" proposition), a higher education, with its higher earnings, reflects higher productivity from the national point of view.[5]

Promotion and increased market size were not the only factors at work in enhancing the market value of schooling during the last 10 to 15 years. During that time much progress was made in replacing men with machines, and the society became a technocracy.

The replacement of men with machines has been a quiet process. There has been much talk of the impact of automated system on employment, but little visible evidence of widespread unemployment as a result of automation. As Michael points out below, cybernation of automated technology has made a silent conquest of the labor force. The silence can be accounted for, in part, by the way in which automated systems have been

introduced. Rather than laying off large numbers of workers, automated systems have enabled enormous increases in productivity without increases in the size of the labor force.

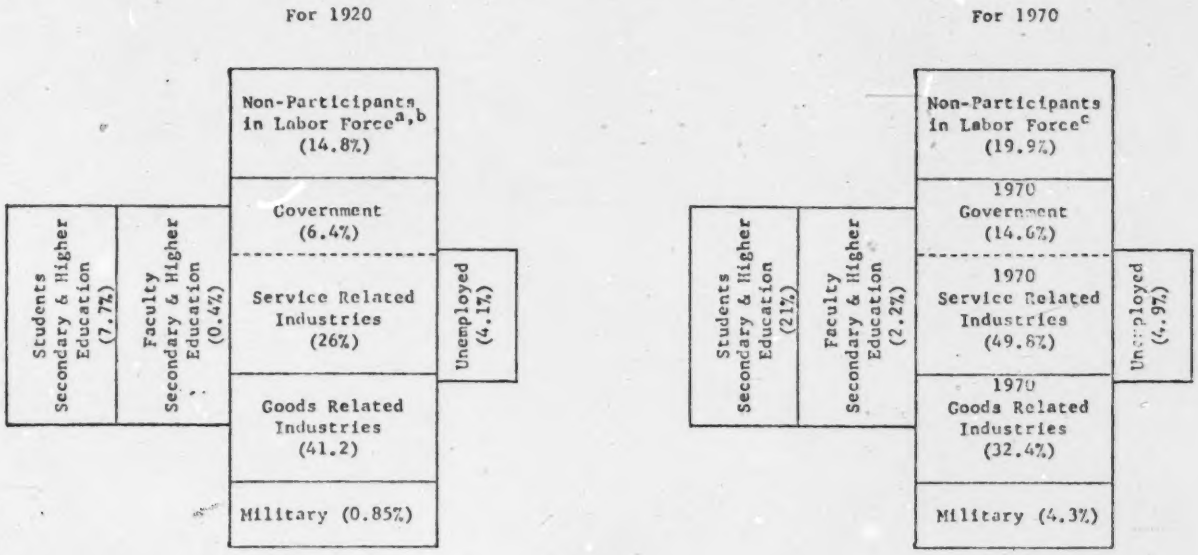
> *In the highly automated chemical industry, the number of production jobs has fallen 3% since 1956 while output has soared 27%. Though steel capacity has increased 20% since 1955, the number of men needed to operate the industry's plants—even at full capacity—has dropped 17,000. . . .*[6]

The process continues at an accelerated pace. *Time* reported in 1961 that ". . . On the farm one man can grow enough to feed 24 people; back in 1949 he could feed only 15."[7] That was an increase of 60% on the 1949 base. In 1973, Borlaug and Brandow report that farm productivity has gone up 310% in the last 20 years.[8]

However, not only has there not been a percentage increase in the size of the labor force, but the percentage of unemployed has remained relatively constant at roughly 3-5% in the period 1920-1970 (except, of course, for the Depression decade). This has happened in spite of the increased population in the country and in spite of cybernation. The point here is that the constancy in unemployment figures and the size of the labor force could not have absorbed the large increase in the population in those same years. What happened, then, to the large numbers of people who were not in the labor force nor among the unemployed?

To answer, we now turn to what we call *Holloman's Box*. The box, shown below, was suggested to us by Herbert Holloman of MIT. It consists of five parts. The central part is the productive sector of the economy and is occupied by manufacturing, service industries, and government. To the left and right, and above and below, of the central part are sectors of the economy which are not directly productive but which are concerned with regulation of entry into and out of the box.

Figure I: Holloman's Box--Representative Distributions of People As % of Labor Force



[a]1942--earliest data available

[b]Includes all persons 14 years of age and over not classified as employed, unemployed, or in Armed Forces; and excludes those in school and those keeping house.

[c]Includes those in the categories of ill health, retirement, old age, think cannot get job, and all other reasons; and excludes those in school and those with home responsibilities.

As can be seen from Figure 1, there has been a dramatic shift in the distribution of people in the economy since 1920. If we consider leisure time as time not spent on the job in the production of goods and services, then apparently what has happened is that the leisure generated by cybernation has been taken at either end of the work life–people defer entry into the labor force to a later age, and they get out of it earlier.

Popular belief seems to hold that the impact of cybernation will be solely on production and blue collar workers. In fact, Michael has pointed out that it will, and is, affecting the service industries which most people feel are immune to the impact of automation. Stores are replacing sales personnel; cheaply-made equipment eliminated the need for repair; people who have increased leisure are apt to use some of the leisure time doing work which could have been done by a serviceman in years past.

The impact of cybernation on schools is that schools have served to legitimize unproductive time. Students and teachers who would be unemployed if they were not in schools, instead hold positions of respect and privilege. Just as farmers are paid to keep land out of production, these people are subsidized by both society and their families not to attempt to work. This has been no mean feat, for if schools today were to enroll students at the rate prevalent in 1920, both the number of students and the number of instructors would be cut dramatically. If those students and teachers were to be added to the labor force and be unemployed, the 1966 unemployment rate would have been over 19% and would be even higher today.

The upshot of all this is that cybernation has worked to the advantage of schools. In a real sense our investment is secure in that the society cannot afford major cutbacks in school enrollments as they could result in widespread unemployment and civil unrest.

The last factor to affect the market for schooling has been the development of a technocracy in the United States. Basically, what has happened is that the work of the society has been increasingly broken down into narrow areas of technical specialization. As the work has become more specialized and detailed, so have the qualifications of the people intended to fill job vacancies. McDonnell-Douglas isn't too interested in a generalist any more; they need engineers to design wing flaps, production engineers to ensure that supplies of bolts arrive at the right point on an assembly line at the right time, and so forth.

The work of allocating human resources into increasingly complex job vacancies has fallen to the schools. The allocation function begins in the early elementary grades and continues throughout a student's career. The social status and occupation attained by adults is in large measure a result of the level and type of education they have received, as symbolized by their diplomas. These educational credentials certify students according to their achievement in schools, which certification gains them access to the occupational world, the world of status and money. The certification function of schooling has made investment in schools attractive, since it has reinforced the advertising campaign showing individual wealth to be a function of schooling.

The diverse functions undertaken by schools have helped insure their growing prosperity, at least until recently. To the basic product line of reading, writing, and arithmetic, schools have added custodial care, provision of an acceptable way to absorb the effects of cybernation, a dampening of the effects of a baby boom, *and* a complete range of personnel selection and screening devices for industry. All of this for only 7% of the GNP is a bargain in anybody's book. After all, some countries get much less for a much higher investment in schooling.

But, evidently, the desirability of schooling has begun to take a downturn in the last two years. Elementary enrollments have dropped; undergraduate enrollment in colleges has fallen below expectations; and federal support for the training of Ph.D.'s has been cut back drastically. Teachers have begun to be spoken of as if they were in oversupply; tenure started to be hard to get, as did competitive offers to faculty. Educators have begun to speak of deschooling, of alternatives, and of accountability–all signs of problems in the business.

Why?

First off, enrollment is declining, the number of births has been dropping for the last five years, and the cohort of students entering elementary schools is smaller this year than last, and last year than the year before. Though some districts are still expanding their enrollment, the expansion is at the expense of other districts which are losing population. So far there is no end in sight to that decline, although demographers promise an upturn in the number of births in the 1980's under certain assumptions.

At more advanced levels, enrollment drops seem to be attributable to a notably tight job market for college graduates. Initially, this may be viewed as a transitory effect due to the troubled economic waters through which we are sailing. A look back at Holloman's Box, though, coupled with a reading of Berg,[9] Renshaw,[10] and Collins,[11] leads one to conclude that the tight market will continue because there is an oversupply of just- about everybody–even physicians in the near future, according to Ginzberg.[12]

On top of this, there is new and disturbing information about the role of schooling in the development of personal and national wealth. Some pertinent data which illustrate an opposing view from that in support of the dollar value of schooling is as follows:

(1) Within several occupations the number of years of

schooling attained by workers has been rising over time.

(2) There is an excess of supply over demand for educated people at all levels of education. For example, in 1960 the census listed 1.2 million males in occupations which required a college degree. But 4.3 million males had such an education.

(3) Many occupational skills can be and often are learned on the job rather than in schools.

(4) Education is often used as a means of screening out applicants for jobs. Consequently, the level of education "required" to enter a job seems to increase with the supply of educated people. This places a society wishing to use the school as a vehicle for social mobility on an endless treadmill—there can never be "enough" schooling in the society.

(5) There is an oversupply of educated people in countries of low economic development, indicating that the demand for education does not necessarily come directly from the economy. A similar trend can be found in the "oversupply" of Ph.D.'s in the United States and Canada.

(6) The role of automation, which is often touted as creating demand for more highly skilled employees, also simplifies tasks and thereby *reduces* the skill levels required of the labor force. Assembly line methods are an example of this.

(7) There is some evidence that estimates of the value of an education are too large; past estimates didn't consider the plentiful supply of educated people available since the mid-sixties, a supply destined to continue for some years.

(8) As the supply of people in occupations rises, there is an attempt to "lock up" the occupation by professionalizing it. That is usually done by increasing the amount of schooling required for entry into the profession.[13]

(9) On top of all the above, there is growing evidence of the ineffectiveness of schools as teaching institutions.[14]

Such qualifications do not make good advertising copy, for they make it difficult to embrace the proposition that schools are necessary in a growing technological society without serious reservations. In fairness, too, most of these qualifications weren't well known when the advertising and promotion of schools as economic saviors was begun. Nor were data deliberately misused. Teachers and administrators actually believe that schooling is necessary for economic advancement. Such a belief is well founded in the world of the teacher/administrator/professor, where degrees mean prestige, promotion, and salary increases; but such a direct tie between schooling and social status is rarer outside school and government bureaucracies.

Cybernation may also have adverse effect on schools. Federal agencies, such as the National Science Foundation, and professional associations, such as engineers, as well as private enterprise are all attempting to displace teachers from the schools via a number of technological innovations. The most visible of these is *Sesame Street*, but there are many others, some enjoying very lavish financial support.

The long-term impact of cybernation on schools may be most serious for teachers. As machines have begun to literally take over much of the routine in production, so, too, they may begin to take over the business of instructing students in schools. The idea of computerized instruction has been around for a long time. Many of us tend to denigrate its potential, pointing out its cost and operational difficulties. To readers who seriously doubt the possibility of using computers as teacher surrogates, we can only caution that the rate of development in cybernation is high. All that is required for cybernation to become attractive to management is that automated equipment be cheaper and more reliable than the non-automated variety. The day when that will occur in schooling is fast approaching, hastened in the case of schools as it was in industry, by the advent of unionization, teacher resistance to accountability (as in Washington DC), and government incentives. Thus, our investment is not secure in that we can be replaced as parts of the school organization by machines—and probably within the working lifetime of many of us.

In their current crude state of development the implications of cybernetic innovations are unclear. But it seems likely that the impact of a fully developed technology on schools will come not just as a replacement for teachers in schools but as a whole new delivery system. Technological innovation did not make it possible to replace men with machines to wire radio circuits; it made it possible to make circuits in new ways—by printing them and photoreducing the prints to make incredibly small circuits with little human participation.

It is likely that the same sort of thing will happen as technology is brought to bear on the problem of delivering education to people—a whole new system, completely bypassing the existing plant. The beginning signs are already there. As early as 1958, Fritz Machlup[15] was writing of the knowledge industry of which schools were only a part. It may be that this industry as a whole will develop faster than schools can change to meet new markets, and that the schools themselves will fail.

Finally, there are possible changes in technostructure which will work to the disadvantage of schools. Schools serve as screening agencies for the technostructure by providing certificates which are supposed to attest to competence. If the structure becomes more diverse, and if it continues to change at a fairly high rate, schools may become hard pressed to provide relevant certificates because of organizational obstacles placed in the path of

change in schools.[16] The technostructure itself will have to provide training. In this event, there is evidence of a capacity and willingness to do this now; for example, the armed forces are the large-scale trainers of manpower in the United States, technologically-based firms such as IBM or Bell Telephone find it useful to run their own accreditation systems, stores train their clerks and future managers, and McDonald's runs a "Hamburger University."

Also, agencies other than schools have begun to enter the certification arena. Educational Testing Service has begun to prepare tests of vocational ability, high school equivalency examinations are now commonly used, and no doubt other tests can be devised. These, if accepted, threaten to break the monopoly held by schools on the lives of children.

So much for the analysis. The future, to put it bluntly, looks very bleak indeed. We have sold one product, particularly well in the last 15 years, to ourselves and to the public; but the public's desire for the product is on the wane. Not only is the market for the product dwindling, but there are new competitors for that market. Even efforts to improve schools, to make them more attractive through attempts to implement "alternatives," seem bedeviled by contradictions and funding efforts. Accountability, or more careful quality control, won't alter the fact that we might be trying to sell an Edsel when at best the world will purchase little cars and what is really needed is a new transit system. The economic dislocations we are about to experience in schools seem very severe.

Should you buy or sell your stock in schools?

If we could, we would sell. It seems to us that the recent increase in the popularity of schools arose in response to a peculiar set of conditions. There was a huge cohort of people to be socialized, there was a massive effort to absorb the impact of technological development with school, and there was an increase in school-related aspects of the technostructure. The outlook for the first two factors is clearly bleak for at least the short run.[17] In fact, technology may change from a force which provides client enrollments to one which takes them away. The technostructure may choose to rely less on schools as personnel screening devices; at any rate, it is hard to see how schools could be used any more extensively than they have been for the last five years. Schools won't go away, but neither their personnel nor their graduates will be rewarded as handsomely as has been the case in the recent past.

Neither we as individuals, however, nor the society as a whole, can get rid of our stock. The purchase price of a degree is not refundable, and schools are not very marketable as office or warehouse space. In addition, though investments may continue to decline with the decrease in demand, affecting the value of the stock, the stock will not become worthless. Nevertheless, though we must retain our stock and though it will never be valueless, we need not sit idly by and suffer the decline in the market. We could take action to make the stock more attractive, inducing increased speculation in schooling. This campaign should lead people to continue to demand access to schooling.

Since the labor market cannot currently absorb all of the graduates from schools, the campaign would be a bit fallacious. Because of that, school people could attempt to maximize profit by not selling to everyone but by restricting access and charging higher prices to those admitted. The effect of this would be to put schooled manpower in relatively short supply and hence to drive the price up. This, of course, would make the advertising campaign ring true, since the schools would become more important in their role as gatekeeper to the economy.

Second, we could place more emphasis on school improvement based on notions like accountability[18] and career education.[19] These would convey to the public the image that schools were doing something about providing needed skills to their children—and would complement any campaign designed to show that schooling led to wealth. They would also divert public attention away from the role of schools as gatekeepers, which serve to prevent people from entering the world of work, to the schools' role in facilitating entry to the work world.

Third, we need to recognize the fact that schools are very large employers of their own products. We could continue to upgrade the requirements for entry into teaching. Perhaps a Master's degree ought to be a minimal requirement to teach elementary children in these complex times, and no less than a Ph.D. aspirant ought to be allowed to face a high school class. Ph.D.'s could be expected to have a couple of years of post-doctoral study before entering the teaching ranks.

Finally, we need to seek out new markets. In a country as wealthy as this surely we ought to be able to deliver an education to everyone. Handicapped children who, for all the good intentions of our profession have been overlooked for more pleasant surroundings, seem to be a current fad, as are efforts to get into the manpower retraining business. A sincere commitment to market development should produce other opportunities which are not yet used.

In addition to the above-noted positive measures, certain preventive steps should be taken to improve the position of schools. For instance, efforts to establish certification services outside the formal school system should be harassed as much as possible. Agencies such as Educational Testing Service, which develops tests of competence that can be taken by anyone regardless of schooling, serve to allow students to bypass schools in favor of other ways of learning. The growth of such agencies must be countered in order to preserve the

school system's methods of allocating status, prestige, and money.

A less immediate threat, but a real one nonetheless, is talk of "deschooling"[20] society. Naturally, any effort to decrease people's dependence on the schools is not in our interest as shareholders and should be fought. Fortunately, since any serious effort to "deschool" society would have terrible consequences for the economy, we need not fight that battle alone. Unions and politicians can be expected to join school people once children and unemployed teachers begin to flood the labor market. This support should appear even as we attempt to place large numbers of students in the work force as part of what is now called "cooperative education."

We need also to be wary of school discount houses. A number of schools have begun to get on the mail-order diploma bandwagon. The fact that these institutions can, with the help of modern technology, offer low-cost degrees to people all over the nation, represents a serious new threat. The resources of accrediting agencies and state governments could be rallied to join with school people in an effort to stop the expansion of these organizations. The effect of such procedures would be to keep people in school longer. This obviously, would delay entry in the marketplace and allow time for the market to adjust to new supplies in personnel through natural attrition. If attrition proves inadequate for creating vacancies to meet supply, it would be possible and even worthwhile to bring about a policy of early retirement, say at age 55, even though many would be retired against their wishes. Manpower policies such as these would be necessary to sustain credibility in the certifying function of schools.

The second course of action involves equally drastic measures as those suggested above. But whereas the foregoing measures are designed to improve the social position of schools, the following are designed to return to schools the function of educating people. In commenting thusly we mean to distinguish between getting schooled and getting educated, though we do not intend to specify the differences at this time.

Schools have been viewed for too long, we believe, as social panaceas. School people and the lay public have sought to redress America's social ills by means of education since the inception of free public education, as Perkinson has pointed out.[21] We are overdue in recognizing that schools are pawns in a much larger game controlled essentially by economics. Probably, therefore, schools have gone about as far as they can be expected in altering the life of the society at this time. In fact, as a precondition to social reform, society will have to establish control over economic institutions. Christopher Jencks is one of the later educators to recount this point.[22]

In noting the powerful role of economics in our social life, we suggest that society address itself to the world of work—to open up that world—and in the following ways. First, we need to broaden the concept of work to include categories presently excluded, excluded at least from receiving payment for services rendered such as volunteer labor; and second, we need to introduce new categories as well. We might go so far as to reinstitute the WPA and the CCC. Third, to facilitate easier access to the job market by the young, we need to revise job requirements where possible so that years of schooling are of minimal importance. Berg, of course, attests to this possibility.[23] And fourth, we need to shorten the work week, to shorten the working day, and to increase the amount of time off the job through long vacations and leaves of absence. Thus, at the same that we are creating new jobs and easier access to them, we would be redistributing leisure. We would not that, thus far in America, we have chosen to deliver most of the leisure attained through our massive investments in technology to the young and the elderly. We propose, instead, a more equal distribution.

We would view the redistribution of leisure as a good thing. First, it would be a humane way for all to share the benefits of technology. Second, it would help return schools to their proper function which we suggest is education.

In itself, of course, increased leisure delivered to all throughout their working life would be an insufficient cause in returning schools to their proper function. However, coupled with the other three factors we propose to open up the world of work, it becomes significant. One result is that schools would rid themselves of their custodial functions. This would be a consequence of the increase in job opportunities, resulting from creating new jobs and creating vacancies through redistributing leisure, and allowing easier access to those jobs by the young; so that work would be a viable alternative to school for many youths. We would mention two additional benefits to increasing leisure. Those with leisure time on their hands would become clients for the schools. That is, schools could provide a creative outlet for dealing with leisure time, which leads to the final point. In providing ways to deal creatively with leisure, schools would need to develop new curricula, the significant point being that such curricula will be learned by those who desire to know their contents, whether highly intellectual or strictly skill oriented.

In opening up the world of work, we may well find ourselves in the happy position of returning to schools the function of educating people, while taking away those custodial and certification functions which have so

often served to make a mockery of the schools' claims to be educational institutions. We may also find the value of our stock on the rise—and for more wholesome reasons than was the case in the fifties and sixties.

NOTES

1. A. Renetzky and J. S. Greene. *Standard Education Almanac.* Los Angeles: Academic Media, 1971.

2. The dual role of professional educators must be noted. Not only are they employed by schools, but in acquiring an education for themselves they have been heavy investors and stand as a monument to current and future investors. They are investors, then, in two ways. They have invested capital, including the human capital of time and effort, to acquire an education and have a vested interest in seeing that the value of their investment will not diminish; and as a taxpayer they continue to invest in the business of education and to support increased investments to safeguard their employment or, so to speak, their original investment.

3. Statistics about employment, population, and enrollment have been drawn from the *Digest of Educational Statistics; Historical Studies of the United States, 1971; 1959 Business Statistics;* and *Projections of Educational Statistics to 1980-81.*

4. Theodore Schultz was instrumental in promulgating this analysis. See, for example, "Education and Economic Growth." *The Sixth Yearbook of the NSSE,* Part II. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961; pp. 46-88.

5. For more detail on these points, see M. Zynelman, "Labor, Education and Management." In Adams, *Education in National Development.* New York: McKay, 1971; I. Berg, *Education and Jobs.* New York: Praeger, 1970; H. P. Miller, *Rich Man Poor Man.* Toronto: Signet, 1964; and W. L. Hansen, "Total and Private Rates of Return to Investment in Schooling." 51:2 *J. of Political Economy* 1963.

6. D. N. Michael, *Cybernation: The Silent Conquest.* Santa Barbara: The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1962; p. 14.

7. *Ibid.*

8. N. E. Borlaug and G. E. Brandow, "U.S. Agriculture Policy: Irresponsibility Unprepared for Scarcity." 26:9 *F.A.S. Public Interest Report.*

9. Berg, *op. cit.*

10. E. F. Renshaw, "Are We Overestimating the Returns From a College Education?" 80:3 *School Review,* 1972.

11. R. Collins, "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification." 36:6 *American Sociological Review,* 1971.

12. E. Ginzberg, "The Outlook for Educated Manpower." 26 *The Public Interest,* Winter 1972.

13. For more details, see P. Balu and O. D. Duncan, *The American Occupational Structure.* New York: Wiley, 1967; E. Ginzberg, *op. cit.;* B. F. Hoselitz, "Investment in Education and Its Political Impact." In Coleman, *Education and Political Development.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965; D. Wolfle and C. V. Kidd, "The Future Market for Ph.D.'s." 173 *Science,* 27 August 1971; Berg *op. cit.;* Collins, *op. cit.;* Renshaw, *op. cit.;* and Zynelman, *op. cit.*

14. For example, see J. S. Coleman et al. *Equality of Educational Opportunity.* Washington DC: U.S. GPO, 1966; or J. M. Stephens, *The Process of Schooling.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967. Also, the work by Torsten Husen which suggests that achievement is not closely tied to time spent in school. See his "Does More Time in School Make a Difference?" *Saturday Review,* 29 April 1972.

15. F. Machlup, *The Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the U.S.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1962.

16. S. Sarason, *The Culture of School and the Problem of Change.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1971.

17. See J. Wilson and R. DuPont, "The Sick Sixties." 232:4 *The Atlantic,* 1963.

18. See L. Lessinger, *Every Kid A Winner: Accountability in Education.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970, for a discussion of this technique.

19. Since U.S. Commissioner of Education, Sidney Marland, has pushed this idea, see his "Career Education Now," *NASSP Bulletin,* May 1971, for an example.

20. I. Illich, *Deschooling Society.* New York: Harper & Row, 1970. If implemented quickly, deschooling as outlined by Illich would cause enormous social disruption. A more acceptable way of achieving his social goal is needed—at the very least the process would involve a lot of effort to change the public's attitude about work and leisure.

21. H. Perkinson, *The Imperfect Panacea.* New York: Random House, 1968.

22. C. Jencks et al. *Inequality, A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America.* New York: Basic Books, 1972.

23. Berg, *op. cit.*

Anderson, Lipton, and Morros have provided a paper with both conceptual and practical implications. Because our subdiscipline notoriously lacks concepts, I shall focus on them.

Clark Wissler once noted (*Amer. J. Soc.*, 1916, pp. 656-61) that it was insufficient for the Pilgrims simply to adopt the Amerindian's corn as a crop; they simultaneously had to add fertilizer, change their tools, and the like. And so, while the elements of a given situation may be particularized, they actually are inter-influential. Hence, a phenomenon of one sector may drift to another. (When a disease does so, physicians speak of *metastasis*.) At the single culture level, we may term this often implied but undefined relationship as the Wissler Effect. Such holism discredits Malinowski's belief that each biological need in the individual creates one single purpose institution—that, for example, "bodily comforts produce Dress" (*Amer. J. Soc.*, 1939, p. 942).

But the transferral conditions depend on many factors, essentially Darwinian. Consider Euroamerican schooling, now buffeted by economic oscillations. Its functions of certification and technical training, Anderson and Lipton suggest, are being embraced by the user institutions, like the McDonald's restaurants' Hamburger University.

Even greater diversification is possible, however. For example, one Kenyan group, Samburu polygamists, warehouse their bachelor youths in the Moran, which boondoggles them on remote national-guard maneuvers, often till age 26! And so the school that Arthur Bestor's followers would make the human pinnacle is revealed anthropologically as a mere zeitgeist pip.

Anderson and Lipton's report connotes, then, that we leave to something like educational sociology the parochialism of analyzing the rectangular depositories called schools. Educational *anthropology* must instead spotlight inter-generational transmission—in a word, enculturation.

Henry G. Burger

THE PUBLIC ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL: SOLUTION TO OR REFLECTION OF SOCIETAL ILLS?

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Introduction

Despite innumerable attempts at educational innovation in recent years, increasing numbers of students and teachers have become so disaffected with secondary education in America that they have struck out on their own to create a drastically different educational setting—the public alternative high school.[2] In order to determine what stance, if any, we as teacher-educators ought to take toward this latest change effort, the authors engaged in a participant observation study[3] of two public alternative high schools in the St. Louis metropolitan area. A brief summary of the study and a more detailed description and analysis of the findings will be the focus of this article.

Perspective: Societal Critics

Phase One of the investigation was an attempt to delineate, through a reading of current sociological essays, some of the larger societal factors which might have created student unrest and given impetus to the development of alternative schools. In reviewing the recent literature, we found some suggesting that the need for highly trained personnel in our technological society clashes directly with the individual's need for personal integrity, and that since schools are presently geared more toward efficiency than toward individual fulfillment, serious student dissatisfaction results (Wirth, 1971; Toffler, 1970). Others link the discontent of young people more directly with the notion that in modern